

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 61

London: August 14, 1937

2d.

REVERSE POST-WAR FOLLY

Peace Treaties Admitted To be Unjust

REVISION WOULD REMOVE A CAUSE OF UNREST

NEARLY nineteen years after the conclusion of the Great War it has at last been admitted by *The Times* that the so-called "Peace Treaties" which followed sowed the seeds of much of the present unrest in Europe.

Tardy as is the recognition of this fact by a newspaper in such a responsible position, it only serves to emphasize the fact that the folly perhaps inevitably perpetrated after the War can yet be reversed by a policy of wise and generous statesmanship.

"AS we survey the world around us we are assailed by the bitterness of doubt whether anything good or useful was accomplished by the dreadful slaughter," admitted *The Times* in a leading article on the anniversary last week of the outbreak of the Great War.

Counting as among the "undoubted gains" that emerged, the safety and unity of the British Empire, and the discrediting of war itself, the article went on to admit that the latter benefit was no longer secure, and in a reference to the present arms race, it recorded that "sober minds in every land realize that civilization itself may be in grave danger if all these engines of destruction should ever be brought into play."

But more startling (and hopeful) than these admissions was the following recognition that the "victorious" Powers were themselves to blame for the "peace" which followed:—

We thought that in future rivalry and envy between nations would give way to cooperation in well-doing, and that common satisfaction would henceforth be felt in common achievement.

Yet the peace we made was not really calculated to promote this sentiment in the States which, vanquished, had had no say at all in the conclusion of the treaties.

Those treaties closed indeed the War period, but they failed, as we now see, to inaugurate a new system of international relationship. We have heard and seen much in recent years of one-sided repudiation of treaty clauses; but may not unilateral denunciation have been a logical consequence of unilateral imposition?

While acknowledging that "mistakes have been made pretty generally since 1919, by this country no less than by others," *The Times* indicated the direction in which redress could be effected.

What countries in Central and Eastern Europe most desired was "some political modification of the Peace Treaties; and, except where Germany has forced it, they have had no satisfaction."

It was not "possible now to hope in the immediate future for the universality of a League of Nations armed with coercive powers," continued the lament, which declared that the present problem was "not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make the coexistence of democracies and dictatorships safe for the world."

The "average German's" plea for "the fair deal that we deserve from other countries and which we haven't had since the War," reported by a special correspondent in PEACE NEWS last week, is now seen to be a just one. Pacifists should now mobilize public opinion to demand revision of the mistakes made after



Photo. by H. & H. B. Fletcher, 59 Rushmore Road, Hall Green, Birmingham

Dick Sheppard at Swanwick Camp

Copies of this picture and of that reproduced on page 2, may be obtained from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, price 1s. each.

the War which led to the existence of the dictatorships in the first place.

Failure to act wisely nineteen years ago has led to the present situation. Now that this has been recognized it would be unpardonable folly and injustice not to make that recognition real by deeds as well as by words.

International Anti-Militarist Congress reaches

UNITY ON ABSOLUTE PACIFISM

From Our Special Correspondent

THE future now seems assured on a permanent basis (but under a new name) of the Rassemblement International contre la Guerre et le Militarisme (International Anti-War and Anti-Militarist Assembly) which held its first congress in Paris last week.

The R.I.G.M. made no claims in its initial manifesto to being an essentially new organization or to putting forward essentially new concepts of pacifism; rather it was to be an organization for coordinating pacifist groups of all countries which could subscribe to its five points. These five points were, and still are:—

- Moral and military disarmament;
- Political, economic, and social justice between nations;
- Abolition of militarism in all forms;
- Opposition to all war preparation; and
- Immediate release of conscientious objectors imprisoned in various countries.

Some twenty organizations, six of them already international, answered its preliminary appeal, and many more were represented at the congress, which was called with the primary intention of allowing these participating organizations to state their own positions and of deciding whether or not they considered the R.I.G.M. a sufficiently useful body to warrant its continued existence.

P.P.U. DELEGATES

If the congress indicated that it was sufficiently useful, a commission would be set up to recommend its reconstruction and to suggest a permanent basis for its organization. To this congress Mrs. Benjamin, and Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Ward were sent as the Peace Pledge Union's delegates and Mr. Ward was asked at the conference to sit on the organization commission.

The opening session on August 1 filled the Salle des Sociétés Savantes with an enthusiastic audience which included the general public.

The Congress was addressed first by the president, M. Félicien Challaye, by Mr. Barthélemy de Ligt, who spoke on the origins of the R.I.G.M., and by M. Jacques Martin, its secretary, who gave an outline of its development. He was followed by representatives of various countries, including England, U.S.A., France, Spain, India, and Austria, and messages were read from well-known pacifists all over the world.

One sensed at this session a not very surprising divergence of opinion as to the real meaning of pacifism; but at later sessions a

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The Camp, The Movement—and the World

An impression written during the Peace Pledge Union's camp at Swanwick, Derbyshire.

By MAURICE L. ROWNTREE

THIS camp has been memorable for the deep sense of comradeship and unity experienced, I believe, by us all.

It is not only that in the usual sense we have had a good time: certainly we have enjoyed ourselves uproariously and felt that tang and liberation which comes when we can let ourselves go with abandon and delight.

But much more than this has happened: for we have come very near to the springs of life itself; in fact, we have already begun to drink therefrom.

We came here from a world that is distraught, chaotic, rudderless. We have met together and discussed together with the honest desire to face up to the tremendous issues with which we are confronted.

We have approached these from widely different backgrounds of experience and upbringing.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM

But because in our measure we have sincerely sought to know the truth, and to play our rightful part in promoting it, we have realized a synthesis of vision and experience.

In the degree in which we have been willing and able to receive it, the truth has set us free. We believe that as we follow the truth, it will free us ever more and more.

In ancient days men were united instinctively within the herd; they acted together without thinking why.

Now man has become self-conscious; he has discovered that "I am I," and, setting out on his new and lonely individual trail in fear of all that he regards as "Not I" he has armed himself against "Not I" lest it should overwhelm him.

Here in camp we are getting beyond "I am I." We are discovering again what primitive man should never have forgotten, that "You are Myself," that we are not mere individual units but are united in the one life of all.

In the world of nations, in the competitive struggle at home, men, gripped by fear, clutch pathetically at the weapons of death, hoping that thus they may be secure. But so long as this fear possesses them, no pacts, no movements of pawns upon the international chess-board will secure them.

Here together we have begun in joy and amazement to witness the liberation amongst us of man's primitive sense of solidarity; we have been refreshed by the up-welling within us of the waters of life from the eternal

SWANWICK CAMP—(continued)

springs: we have drawn upon sources of power far stronger than all that sunders and corrupts the human spirit, than all which drives men to seek one another's destruction.

We know that unity is strength, and that all the power of life is with us, can we but learn how to trust it utterly and to let it use us fully and unreservedly. Some of us can joyfully say in Christian language that here we have known the presence of God

(Continued from page 1, col. 3)

growing sense of certainty and unity became apparent, until finally any element of dissent from "absolute" pacifism was absent altogether.

On the Monday morning speeches were heard on the religious and philosophic foundations of peace action from Professor Ude of Austria, the Rev. Herbert Gray, and M. Challaye. These were followed by Mr. Ward on behalf of the P.P.U. and many other delegates.

In the afternoon, Franz Liebaers and Kenneth Boulding spoke on the economic and social elements of peace action, while on Tuesday there were addresses on "Colonialism, Imperialism, and Peace," and "Peace and the Militarization of the Nations" and a report on political and economic methods of peace action.

WORK OF COMMISSIONS

The commissions began their deliberations on the Tuesday evening. There were, among others, commissions on disarmament; the defence, physical, moral and spiritual of human personality; problems of the moment; the youth movement; and the future organization and constitution of the R.I.G.M.

These commissions were at work again on Wednesday until the last moment before the closing session, when their reports were read and the resolutions that they had prepared put before the congress.

One or two of these resolutions were passed unanimously, all by a large majority. The congress seemed to have reached a pitch of unity of purpose and enthusiasm such as is rarely found.

As far as the organization commission's resolution is concerned, I have no space here to give it in full; but it was decided to call the R.I.G.M. le Groupement Pacifiste International (International Pacifist Association).

That the representatives of many pacifist bodies in twelve different countries should have been able to lose so completely their national differences of language, colour, creed, politics, and economics, was undeniably a sign that pacifism has its basis in certain human and spiritual values common to all men, and that it rests unshakably on this basis, a living international reality.

M. Challaye reminded us, in his closing address, that it is difficult to recognize historic moments when you are living through them. I believe that this conference was a historic moment.

amongst us; others, equally sincere, cannot honestly use these words.

But by whatever symbols we express what we have experienced, we have all rejoiced together as we have realized the power of this our common life, and we have glimpsed possibilities of its growth in ourselves and throughout the world.

We long to be made the instruments by which love and goodwill, expressed in keen thinking and wholehearted effective action, shall free the earth from its slavery of fear, mistrust, and hatred, and shall bring men and nations into the glorious liberty of the sons of light.

We are beginning to realize that our movement can evoke a loyalty and a devotion equal to that of any other movement, provided only that we ourselves have eyes open to all light and truth from whatever quarter it may come, and hearts open to receive all fellow human beings into the circle of

**THE LAST NIGHT
IN CAMP**

THE song was ended. In the ensuing pause, Dick Sheppard asked quietly for a moment's silence, and at once the people round the fire were still.

The embers stirred. A plume of sparks flew upwards and was lost among the stars. An undulating yellow flame lit up men and women, Dutch, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, English, all motionless and deep in meditation. Accent was gone. Contentment was no more.

*Then through the silence overhead
An Angel with a trumpet said
"Forevermore, forevermore,
The reign of violence is o'er."*

At last Dick Sheppard raised his head. "That is unity" he said.

our understanding, good will, and co-operation.

But because our movement is all-inclusive it can draw upon all the unifying and constructive power in the world as no movement that is less than all-inclusive can possibly do.

We must fill our movement with all the life, colour, variety, and beauty that human life can offer: **above all we must train and fit ourselves to be worthy exponents and examples of the faith that is in us, in order that we may attract others to cooperate with us in this way of life.**

If we are faithful to the light we have received, that light will grow. If we can become great enough to use the immense opportunities that are before us we shall help to save mankind from death, and to achieve a life glorious beyond the dreams of the past.

We shall be unconquerable, because the life by which we live is itself unconquerable.

(More about the camp on page four.)

Lord Ponsonby exposes some**FALLACIES ABOUT THE WAR
IN SPAIN**

HOW nice it would be in sunny holiday days to think that the world was at peace, and that people all the world over were refreshing themselves in order to renew their endeavours to advance civilization and to make more fertile the soil on which economic, scientific, and astrictic progress might thrive!

Try as we may, however, we cannot forget that futile and desperate conflict continues in several parts of the world and fear cannot be dispelled from our own minds that these dangerous fires may spread into a great conflagration.

Spain — unfortunate Spain — continues to be the centre of a terrible tumult, the continuance of which must bring controversy and ill-feeling to an increasingly acute degree into the relations between the Powers in Europe.

It is difficult to be calm about it. It is wrong to be aloof and indifferent. But it is dangerous to be vehemently partisan.

WHAT I think is necessary is that we should preserve carefully our sense of proportion.

There is a tendency, both on the side of the supporters of fascism on the one part, and of communism on the other part, to oversimplify the issue and the probable result; and there is a strong inclination on both sides to believe that a military victory is going to assure the permanent ascendancy of one side or the other.

As I pointed out some months ago, revolutions in Spain are no new phenomenon and have never secured the complete establishment of absolute monarchy, dictatorship, clerical control, reactionary conservatism, nor of liberalism, radicalism, republicanism, or socialism.

There will be no clear-cut result this time from the victory of Franco, whose adherents are by no means all fascists, nor from the victory of the Government, whose adherents are by no means all socialists or even communists.

THIS does not prevent wild denunciations of the one side by the other side, and the insistence that the struggle is between pure white

and jet black, as if any conflict in human history had ever been anything of the kind.

If the conflict is to be fought to a finish there will be greater disappointment for the victors than for the vanquished. The latter will hardly feel even humiliated by having been crushed by superior war engines, the former will only find their triumph dust and ashes when they begin their endeavours to govern the country.

But for us, outside, confused by the contradictory reports in our own Press, biased as it must be one way or the other, our chief concern must be to prevent the flames spreading and to stop the recriminations between partisan governments from making a waste of dead heather and bracken which a spark from Spain may set into a roaring blaze.

I SIMPLY cannot understand the attitude of those who blame the Government for their continuous attempt to construct a policy of non-intervention.

Of course the Government never expected non-intervention to be watertight or even successful, but the persistent attempt by personal and representative consultation between nations with diametrically opposite views to preserve the semblance of neutrality has undoubtedly so far prevented a world war.

Had it not been originally adopted it is safe to say that Spain by now would not have been an independent State. It would have been under the dominion of the fascist Powers.

If the policy breaks down completely this may still be the prospect for that unfortunate country unless we are prepared to send out troops, warships, aeroplanes, arms, and tanks and sacrifice thousands of British lives in the Iberian peninsula.

BECAUSE I am irreconcilably opposed to the Government on their policy of rearmament, this does not prevent me from giving credit to them in the diplomatic field where their persistent attempts at conciliation show a far wiser judgment of present circumstances than can be found in the attitude of their critics.

In the present deadlock in the Non-Intervention Committee the representatives of the various nations must know that the very fact of expressing willingness to join and act with others involves the knowledge that you cannot have it all your own way, that is to say, compromise.

Considering what a breakdown will mean it is obviously in the interest of every one of them, however strongly they may feel one way or the other, to keep together. The danger is that the fascists may know how greatly a breakdown would favour them. I wish our anti-fascists would see that too.

Arthur Ponsonby



Some of the campers at Swanwick are here seen in the marquee used for discussions, &c.

Photo. by H. & H. E. Fletcher

INDIAN CONSTITUTION WILL NEED REFORM

THIS central federal constitution, which was imposed on the Indian people by a foreign Power at Whitehall in spite of universal Indian protest, will have to be reformed. Very much of it will have to be repealed."

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, the well-known missionary makes this forecast in an article appearing in the current issue of *Reconciliation*, dealing with the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to allow Congress leaders to accept office in the six "majority" provinces.

"The omens," he thinks, "are now favourable for this process of repeal and reform to take place without violence from within the Constitution itself until it is entirely remodelled."

The chief reason for the decision was the sincere desire of Mr. Gandhi to avoid violence in any form, declares Mr. Andrews, who adds that "it was realized long ago that to reject office and start once more non-cooperation at such a critical time as this, with an inflammable atmosphere, might end in an explosion."

Congress had been learning the long discipline needed for a non-violent struggle and had not forgotten Mr. Gandhi's training and preparation in non-violence during the past years.

The Viceroy, whose patient waiting for the right moment, says Mr. Andrews, "showed an inner discipline which was no less admirable in its own peace-giving effect," shared in the moral victory of Mr. Gandhi and Congress.

(Viceroy meets Mr. Gandhi—see page 11.)

"Apostles of Violence" Condemned in Spain

From Our Special Correspondent

CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

IN the *Heraldo de Castellon* "A.Z." is writing a series of articles under a caption which is faintly reminiscent of Hamlet's most famous speech—"Thought in Arms." His latest effort attacks apostles of violence who entrench themselves behind orthodox faith.

"It is astounding," he says, "to contemplate those who claim that the religion of the crucifixion is the only one which has established the maxims of love among men, charity, and benevolence, applauding the punishment of liberal thought, the torture and brutal murder of defenceless women and children and the threatened extermination of a people which opposes foreign invasion."

"Surely, if the great Galilean came to life again he could do no less than repeat that trenchant phrase addressed to 'whited sepulchres'—'Verily I say unto you, this people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.'"

"One may err from depraved instinct, from inherited pathological condition, from arrested mental development, or as the result of faulty education: but the one thing you cannot do without producing nausea and profound contempt in noble minds is to claim to justify crime, stupidity and vice by the invocation of divine laws. . . . The Christian



Mr. M. K. Gandhi

"They Just Kept Quiet": Africans' Practical Pacifism

From a Correspondent

AFRICAN youth can give the world's politicians a lesson in the art of peacemaking, as the following extracts from a Congo missionary's letter show.

"For weeks the girls on our station have been having a hard time. Another mission is next door to us.

"Recently the boys started a campaign against our girls. As soon as it was dusk they began throwing stones into our compound. At first the girls were upset and frightened, because it was dangerous even to cross the compound.

"But they were told to be quiet and go into their houses as soon as it began. For weeks they were not able to stay out in the cool and sit and talk as usual.

"A day or two ago a station girl was out in the town in her ordinary dress instead of the usual uniform. She heard some of these boys talking to our boys.

"This is what they said: 'We can't understand the girls on your station at all. We've been throwing stones at them for weeks, yet they haven't thrown one back at us! We've abused them and called them all sorts of names, but they've never even answered us. They've just kept quiet.'

"Even when your missionary came

dogma may or may not be admissible but it does not and cannot claim that. . .

"The man who was so far in advance of his times, who never called himself 'the son of God' but 'the son of man,' denied to the wealthy the right of entry to the kingdom of the blessed, commanded his disciple to return his sword to the scabbard because he who slays with the steel shall fall by the steel, and thundered against the false interpreters of the eternal abstract laws and the doctrine of mental and moral exaltation."

There are those in our own country who would do well to reflect upon this censure from a land which is said, quite untruthfully, to be persecuting religion.

Danish Interest in the Pacifist Message

From a Correspondent

SCENE: a little town, as much in the middle of Denmark as anything can be, Silkeborg by name, just after the War Resisters' Conference has finished its labours in Copenhagen. Here is splendid scope for peace propaganda, no less than in our own country.

We are met on arrival by the welcoming chemist, leader of the peace thought in the town, who can speak English and escorts us to our hotel. This faces the town square, but at the back looks to the lakes, which stretch for miles, and offer delightful expeditions by boat. (Would-be holiday-makers, please note!)

We notice valiant advertisers parading the streets with hand-written notices about "Lansbury," and before the advertised hour our meeting starts.

We speak to a well-packed hall, where an audience, mostly of men, drawn, we are told, from all parties, and all classes, listens keenly to a Czech, a Norwegian, the writer, and above all, to George Lansbury. Their welcome to him betokens that even here he is known and esteemed.

Alas! for the barrier of language, but our words are translated, sentence by sentence, by the head of a fine athletic training institute to whom English is familiar.

George Lansbury, unsparing of himself as ever, stayed on to give of his wisdom over coffee till nearly midnight, and we were told it was a notable evening for Silkeborg. For the fear of being engulfed in the wars of powerful neighbours presses here as elsewhere, and the pathetic fallacy of being "protected" by a tiny army, is just like our own folly in miniature.

Yet perhaps if the Treaty of Versailles had carved up Europe into little countries like Denmark we might have developed the free and delightful atmosphere one senses there: honesty, morals, and common sense seem to flourish.

One is reminded, too, of the noteworthy Scandinavian peace victory in dividing Sweden and Norway amicably. Sweden realized that an unwilling partner was useless, and giving all that Norway asked, friendship and cooperation have developed since their separation.

SAFETY for SAVINGS

A postcard will bring you a prospectus

No better opportunity exists for savings than that of the St. Pancras Building Society where the Investors' interests are carefully protected. The £10 preference shares of this Society are free from fluctuation and withdrawable in full at any time.

Interest at 4% p.a. free of Income Tax is paid half-yearly.

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
3 Wigmore Place, London, W.1

Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

OURS was a good camp, ours was! What weather! What a company! What a fine spirit! What an adorable host! If only we had thought to invite Mr. Duff Cooper, Mr. Hore-Belisha and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York! What a time they'd have had! I hope they consoled themselves by listening-in, as we did, to Canon Morris's address from Birmingham on Sunday night. But think what they missed!

By way of compensation to those who couldn't be there, we are going to publish some of the lectures in pamphlet form. Unfortunately Mr. Kingsley Martin's fine historical survey of the international landscape went unreported; but some of us won't be happy till we get hold of Mr. Middleton Murry's study of the religious foreground as the political background; for here was matter that went to the roots of the pacifist faith. The case—like that of Dr. Alex Wood's pamphlet—was good enough for Dr. Temple to get down to and answer; and it carried a message that might well have been delivered in St. Martin's Church. We shall have this, and Canon Morris's, and possibly others, at a penny a time very shortly. I hope they will be distributed by the thousand.

Christian Unity on one page of *The Times*, War Practice—"Learning to Face Intense Fire"—on another, and apparently no sense of any incongruity! The mixture, as before, is made palatable by putting cushions of tasty matter between the medicines. Girl Guides' Jamborees, Naval Weeks and Devil's (*alias* Tidworth) Tattoos all help to disguise the complete militarization of England which is proceeding exactly according to plan. The struggle is coming with "Air Raid Precautions." It has taken the Government a long time to bring itself to the enforcement of these regulations, not merely because of the prodigious and utterly wasteful expense, but because conscription in England must always enter by the back door. The back entrance saves our Democratic (or Fascist) face. (Incidentally, it helps to give commercial ghouls time to cash-in). If A.R.P. had been enforced quite suddenly, even the readers of the *Daily Mail* might have talked about military dictatorship. Now there's going to be infinite generosity to Local Authorities, no doubt with the expectation of vigorous action and subservient gratitude from them. Colonel Blimp will be telling his suburban neighbours how we must back up the generous Government for taking the A.R.P. money out of our hip-pockets instead of out of our rates. And as Warden he will shine resplendent. Another—and truer—name for "Warden" is Local Military Martinet.

Every person who declines to take part in Air Raid Precautions will do so because he believes that the mind cannot fail to sanction, sooner or later, what the hand is dyed to. If we prepare for war, we acknowledge war to be within our intention. A.R.P. are merely the wider development of Rearmament: the means whereby the whole population is brought into the

(Continued foot of col. 4)

The Value of Swanwick Camp

The following account of the Peace Pledge Union's camp at Swanwick, Derbyshire, is by a member of the Southend-on-Sea P.P.U. group, and was chosen from the entries submitted in a competition held at the camp.

By L. H. THOMAS

IN a preliminary announcement regarding the camp the founder of our movement stated that this venture might conceivably be the making of the P.P.U.

Perhaps it is too early yet to say whether this has been achieved; it is true, however, to say that it has probably done more than any other activity of our Union in establishing it on a firm basis.

During the work in our localities most of us must have wondered whether our activities were isolated; whether other people were putting in the same effort in other areas. To have been in doubt on this point must have dispirited many P.P.U. signatories. Now, campers can go back and reassure their groups that in all localities the work and propaganda is being pushed forward.

From all quarters of the British Isles came representatives who were bursting with the desire to make their pacifism a live force in the country. Private and public discussions equally revealed this. The camp has given us a sure knowledge that the P.P.U. is alive—wherever any groups have been formed. That, to me, was worth more than all the lectures and discussions. So was the fellowship and spirit of cooperation and willingness, manifested in every branch of camp life. There was never any lack of helpers in anything that was undertaken. There was never any "grousing," as John Barclay put it.

Not that I wish to underrate the value of the lectures. Nor can I discriminate between the value of any one of them as compared with another. Each had its inspirational value and its vast content of pacifist knowledge and ideas.

Those of you who heard (as we did) Canon Morris's sermon broadcast from Birmingham on the Sunday evening can gather from that how much we gained from all the other lectures, for they were delivered in the same tone and they possessed the same sureness of faith. What made us realize their value more was the fact that the lecturers, for the most part, stayed with us in the camp. We found them no mere professional disseminators of pacifist ideas, as some people might have imagined previously, but keen, ardent, "whole-hog" workers for our cause.

For the first time in any movement that I have belonged to, at any rate, ordinary rank and file mixed "in the common round" with leaders and found them willing to "pull at the same rope." No delegation of work from top to bottom here! but genuine cooperation toward the one goal.

That is why separate mention of different personalities seems out of place here. Of course, one could not help feeling dominated by the cheerfulness and comradeship of "Dick" and the energy of "John," to mention two of our more active members. But there I stop; any other mention of personal contribution is swallowed up in the contribution that all made (not leaving out the staff who prepared our meals!)

If only all our members had been able to visit us, just for one day; if they had only had the chance of taking part in a cricket match, a meal, the concert, sports, or discussion. But that is a dream. Maybe next year there will be a bigger camp, and new visitors, to help to cement further our Union, and carry into the groups the spirit which surrounded us at Swanwick.

PACIFISTS ACTIVE AT NAVY WEEK

From Our Own Correspondents

PORTSMOUTH P.P.U., barely six weeks old, put up a brave display during Navy Week when they had a poster procession through Southsea.

They found the North-country holiday-makers quite interested and receptive to literature, but the residents of the naval town were inclined to scoff. But those who took part had every reason to be satisfied with their little effort—especially when they passed, on the crowded sea front, the illuminated model of a warship advertising Navy Week.

PACIFISTS AND THE STATE

Miss Braithwaite discussed some problems connected with the pacifist's attitude to the State at a recent meeting of the Banbury group.

The pacifist did not believe in the "sovereign" State: he considered that war with other States should be unthinkable in the same way that war was unthinkable between Britain and any of the Dominions, and that nations should consult about such matters as tariffs, migration, and currency policy in the same way that the various members of the British Commonwealth consulted on these matters.

The pacifist also disbelieved in the "totalitarian" State in internal affairs. The democratic philosophy, which the pacifist approved, believed that the State exists to further the welfare of its individual citizens.

State action should be approved or disapproved of according to the purposes which it served, in the same way as the activities of a voluntary society are judged: there was nothing magical about the State, it was a piece of machinery for serving certain purposes.

Although democracy assumed that in general the minority on any question should obey the laws passed by the majority, cases of different kinds had arisen at various times when a minority felt that to obey the State would be to violate the right as they felt it in their own consciences, and pacifism was one of these cases. The pacifist should make it clear that his resistance was to particular actions of the State and not to the general law, and he should regard such resistance as part of his duty as a citizen both of the State and of the wider world community and not as a repudiation of the duties of citizenship.

With the invitations to a recent group meeting at Westcliff had been sent a request to bring a written paragraph, or sentence—for or against pacifism (as provocative as possible!) As each of these was read out it was discussed.

Many differing topics were introduced, including non-intervention, whether women were working sufficiently for the Union, propaganda, Red Cross work by the P.P.U.

A second meeting will be held in September.

UNDER THE OAK TREE

By THELMA NIKLAUS

LAST Tuesday we went to a party. Mr. and Mrs. Blomfield, of Colchester, opened their hearts and their garden to our whole family; and there was rejoicing under the Oak Tree.

Saturday, Sunday, and the free parts of Monday we were washing, starching, ironing, and airing our prettiest clothes. The smaller children polished shoes, claimed new hair ribbons or new shirts, and washed their hair at least twice a day. We had several requests for new dresses from our secret store; and many urgent demands for hair slides, needles, and cotton. Then came tragedy.

We found a little boy's suit—an enchanting linen suit—cream trousers, blue and cream top, cream collar and cuffs. It was awarded to Fabio, our smallest child. He put it on—then, bursting into tears, he vanished into the garden. Over an hour later, when the lunch bell rang, Fabio came with swollen face and lagging step to the dining room; leaned against the wall, and wept again. Drowned in tears, he sat at his table. We told him, over and over again, how deeply sorry we were that we had insulted his manhood. We apologized humbly for the misunderstanding, and promised him a fresh and manly suit after lunch. Sorrow had struck too deep a blow; Fabio could only just swallow his food. Half an hour later, clad in drab little trousers and a drab but boyish shirt, he was one of the noisiest and happiest of the band which set out by coach for Colchester.

The children sang the whole way to Colchester; but once in the town silence fell, and by common consent all boisterous chattering was dropped. The town safely passed, a great roar of song filled the bus again, and lasted until we reached the house.

We swarmed into the garden; and there a children's paradise opened out before the enchanted eyes of one large family. There were corks to be fished from bottles, bean bags to be thrown into cunning holes, clock golf, a chest full of dolls and dolls' clothes, a dolls' house filled with exciting furniture, a dolls' tea party with real tea, real milk, and real sugar. There was a wood, too, where boys could be bandits or pirates or other "lesser breeds without the law." All the children tried every game; and then ate monster teas, sitting in a circle on the lawn. Cakes, buns, bananas, nuts, and lemonade vanished like the rabbit in the conjuror's hat. And Fabio, a man again, carried a chocolate biscuit in the breast pocket of his shirt until the chocolate oozed out through the stuff. He then consumed the sodden remains with evident enjoyment.

Later the children played Spanish games, danced Spanish dances, and sang some of their songs. At six o'clock they were packed into their coach again and were borne home, still singing!

(Continued from column 1)

activity of the war machine. Let us understand these principles quite clearly and determine our action accordingly. It is going to be no easy matter in practice to decide what we shall or shall not do. The infection is devilishly insidious because its end is total infection. There can and will be no scheduled way out of the thousand dilemmas A.R.P. will provide; but resolute pacifists who appreciate the situation may be trusted to make clear the issue before we are all under arms.

14, 1937

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"Precautions" in the Countryside Show Futility of War

"It is very encouraging to those of us who are working for peace to know that even in this Essex hamlet [of Hullbridge] with a population of not more than about 300 people, there is an effort being made in this direction." So writes a correspondent who has just received a copy of *The Hullbridge Chronicle*, in which an article by "J.E.L." points out that

Should it be

Scrapped?

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

MAY I draw the attention of your readers to the monument erected in memory of the machine-gun warriors of 1914-18 near Hyde Park



Corner. It bears this Biblical inscription:

Saul slew his thousands, and
David his tens of thousands.

I think that this statue should be removed, as it is a disgrace to the British people.

HAR DAYAL.

34 Churchill Road,

Edgware.

"Today, in spite of so-called progress, men by the perversion of knowledge and science can and do rain down fire and destruction, mainly on the innocent. To be prepared for such an event the Rural Council of Rochford wants to enrol the people of Hullbridge, so that the dead can be buried, the maimed taken to hospital, and fires put out.

"While we are busily engaged in this work, our gallant airmen are effecting reprisals on the enemy, and

IS IT "AT HOME" IN YOURS?

PEACE NEWS continues to find a "home" in the reading rooms of public libraries in all parts of the country.

Since the list published last week, we have been notified of its entry into libraries at **Dartford, Halifax (3 more), and Lerwick.**

pouring down more fire and destruction, that is if they have more than the enemy, and so more and more innocent enemy women and children are destroyed and maimed; so the game goes on without end—destroy, destroy, destroy.

"It is very unpleasant to consider that if we fall into line we are in a measure endorsing this horrible programme, we are to be prepared for it, to contemplate it as a possibility, or as some think, a certainty."

The article goes on to emphasize that in the present situation "on England lies the greatest responsibility in history."

GERMAN PACIFIST RECEIVES NOBEL PEACE PRIZE MONEY

But There's a War On!

It was reported last week that a Press Association correspondent saw sailors from British, French, German, and Italian warships "fraternizing enthusiastically" in a cafe in Tangier.

Spaniards of both parties, who occupied other tables, "looked on silently."

BAN ON SPANISH WAR FILM

Permission to show two films picturing the Spanish war has been refused by the licensing committee of the Surrey County Council.

Protesting against the ban in a letter published in the *Surrey Comet*, County Councillor Edwin Middleton admits that the pictures are horrible, but asks the committee if "there is any sense in permitting Surrey taxpayers to pay £10,000,000 a year for armaments while preventing them from knowing what horrors their money is helping to create."

He suggests that the pictures should be classed as "A" films, and adds, "to cure the curse of war, let people see as vividly as possible what war means."

CARL VON OSSIETZKY, the well-known German non-violent war resister, who was awarded last year the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935, has, it is understood, been allowed to receive the full amount of the prize (approximately £8,000).

He was imprisoned on February 28, 1933 (the day after the Reichstag fire), being moved later, without trial, to Sonnenburg concentration camp, where he remained until the summer of 1935, when he was removed to the police department of the Berlin State Hospital.

Although he has been in a sanatorium near Berlin, under treatment for lung trouble, for the past six months, it was reported in *The Times* last week that he had so far recovered his health as to be training himself for the occupation of a surgical photographer.

At the time of the award the German Minister in Oslo indicated that Germany regarded the decision of the Norwegian committee responsible for administering the prize as "a deliberate demonstration" against that country. Nevertheless, Herr von Ossietzky is now stated to have full liberty of disposal of the money, and to have been assisted by the authorities in its collection.

Although any request by him to leave Germany would apparently meet with difficulties, there is believed to be nothing to prevent his reinstatement as a German citizen.

THE MILITARIST



Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE, who depicted "The Pacifist" in last week's PEACE NEWS

PLANS FOR ANOTHER BIG PACIFIST CONVENTION

From Our Own Correspondent

AS the result of a visit by James Hudson, a group of Bristol and Bath pacifists has undertaken the organization of a pacifist convention on similar lines to those held at Manchester and Birmingham.

A representative council is being set up, and in the meantime a provisional committee has made preliminary arrangements. The Central Hall at Bristol has been booked for the afternoon and evening of Saturday, January 8, 1938, and invitations will shortly be sent out to organizations all over the West of England.

Valuable assistance can be given by members of the Peace Pledge Union who live in the area between Gloucester and Bournemouth, and to the westward, and who are willing to undertake local organization on behalf of the convention.

It is essential to secure the cooperation of willing people in this area so as to make the convention known and secure the appointment of delegates from as wide an area and as large a variety of organizations as possible. Anyone willing to help should write to Mr. Wilfred Harvey, 57 Claremont Road, Bristol, 7, the provisional secretary.

LONDON CONVENTION

Copy of resolutions, application forms, and information regarding the

national pacifist convention to be held by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group in the Central Hall, London, S.W.1, on September 18, may be obtained from D. J. J. Owen, Organizing Secretary, 60a Fort Road, London, S.E.1.

Pacifist Esperantists

It is hoped to arrange a meeting for those interested in the Pacifist Esperanto League to take place after the Pacifist Convention in London on September 18 (if possible in a room at the Central Hall, Westminster).

Those who will probably be able to attend should send their names and addresses to the honorary secretary of the League, W. J. Brigden, 232 Selincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

Natives in S. Africa

The native policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa formed the subject of a letter from a Cape native published in *The Manchester Guardian* last week.

The writer pointed out that in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony the native has no voice in the governing of his country, and is not allowed: to live in any area except in locations set apart for him; to be out after 9 p.m. without a permit; to walk on the pavements in the towns; or to be in charge of machinery.

Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 8½d. Yearly: 10s. 2d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

August 14, 1937

THE NEW COMMONWEALTH

THE world is full of foreboding, of people living in mortal fear of what will happen next, of people driven from one form of oppression and coercion to another more repressive and more cruel, of idealistic people whose hopes and efforts for pacification have been rudely blasted and who, in consequence, have become bitter and cynical, of people who have pinned their trust to the workings of economic process and who are exasperated by the discovery that even against his material interest man declines to live by bread alone. The world is full of fear and fearful expectation: as well it may be when it looks upon the ripening fruit of the poison-trees which were planted in the soil of victory, national interest and international mistrust. This post-War political world is a world built upon death.

But in the heart of every man who has quietly and solemnly resolved that henceforth he will have neither part nor lot in war, a new world opens. Self-judged, he stands contrite in the knowledge that the world is what it is because his attitude to it has been one of fear and active if unconscious hostility. In the past he has allied himself with an exclusive national interest in the belief that his patriotism was good enough to earn him citizenship and peace. Now he sees, by the demonstration of war, the nature of this patriotism: how it is both aggressive and exclusive, condemning others to fates he would not endure, riding high over justice and scorning equality. Therefore, in the spirit of pity which animated Nurse Cavell, he knows that this patriotism is not enough; and knowing this, he has deliberately renounced national individualism, accepted a new way of life, and resolved that he will either live by human brotherhood or cease to ask for life at all.

When that happens, a new world opens. Others so resolved in every country in the world come to meet him. He joins a new commonwealth, a new fraternity, the fraternity of faith and hope in the true destiny of the human race. He ceases from that constant fear which a habit of self-protective living engenders. He becomes an instrument of service ready for menial toil in the common good. He knows the meaning of good will and seeks to propagate its spirit among all men, understanding that only in the spirit of good will can human freedom be brought about.

And he wants to share this simple faith because he believes it to be the key, and the only key, which can unlock the haunted dungeon nationalism and imperialism have made

Double-mindedness in Religion and Politics

By LAURENCE HOUSMAN

"A DOUBLE-MINDED man," says the Apostle James, "is unstable in all his ways." It is as difficult for a man of two minds to do right service, or to bear true witness, as it is for him to serve two masters.

It may work out in either of two ways; either he may be so intellectually unstable as to be in effect a half-wit, dividing himself on a balance, and wobbling from right to left—a mind without weight one way or the other; or he may, consciously or unconsciously, have a preference and a one-sided leaning; in which case, of those two minds, one will be practically master, though a bad master, and the other will be a bad second, or will go under.

Now an honest mind may often be in doubt as to which of two practical courses is the better (and by this state of doubt his effectiveness will be diminished, or for the time suspended). But an honest mind will *not* remain thus undecided between diametrically opposed principles. A mind worth having must, from the very start, find a ground principle to work on, and with that principle will not tamper, will not allow it to be adulterated with anything that is opposed to it, and call it "compromise," or "common-sense," or "practical politics." A man of principle will not juggle with his own mind as Ko-ko and Poo-bah juggle

of the world today. By this simple, individual, enfranchising faith, the way to the new world—so desperately desired of all men—can be found. Without it we move in a circle of everlasting consequence, paying for the past in ever-increasing misery because we will not atone for it by individual contrition.

Those who do not understand their own necessity speak of pacifism as if it were an amiable but quite impracticable dream. They regard it as a pathetic ideal, a sublime theory, the apotheosis of an impossible If. How shall we convince them that it is a practical, immediate and essential reorientation of human activity? How shall we demonstrate that pacifism is good will ready to be expressed in terms of immediate economic and political action? How shall we bring the extrovert Fascist, the introvert Communist, the distraught Collective Security-hunter, and the blind unthinking traditionalist into the liberty of this personal faith?

By bearing witness "not only with our lips, but in our lives." By beseeching them to establish for themselves—as if each one of them were the sole occupant of this world—a scale of ethical values which for them shall be absolute: a scale of values based upon the simple resolution that at least they will not violate the cardinal value of human existence by offering themselves as means to the mechanized murder of their fellows.

Last week, over the signatures "Salisbury, J. W. Mackail, Ernest Brown, Davidson," *The Times* printed these words:

"What nations imperatively require is a development of the sense of personal responsibility to bring men and women and all administrations and Governments to a spirit of loyalty to God. This alone can unite a chaotic world."

Can "loyalty to God" be compatible with participation in the malign, barbarous, and chaos-producing activity of modern war? That is the question.

together in the *Mikado*; "Come over here where the Chancellor can't hear us" . . . "Come over here where the Chief Justice can't hear us" . . . "Come over here where the Commissioner of Police can't hear us" . . . And then finally—the low-down solution—"I don't say that all these people couldn't be squared." A process which we see going on today both in the church and in politics—the squaring of the vicious circle.

The double mind, therefore, is either weak and indecisive in action, or it is self-deceiving and dishonest. If it does, in fact, give acceptance in any degree to two contrary principles, it must necessarily be half-hearted, and if it comes to a contest with opponents who are whole-hearted, even if those opponents stand for an evil system, the opponents are likely to win.

I believe that we are today confronted in the world with that very danger. There may be—there are, I am sure—many individual Christians who are whole-hearted followers of the teaching of Christ. There are many individuals—some of them leaders in the political world—who are whole-hearted believers in liberty, and in the principle of government of the people, by the people, for the people, with the maximum liberty of speech, thought, and action—which is the principle of democracy. But taking Christianity and Democracy as a whole today (Christianity as represented in this country by the Established Church, led by its Bishops, Democracy as represented by present and recent Governments) both are double-minded and half-hearted, both in pronouncement and in action.

Over against them are political systems—Communism, Fascism, Nazi-ism—which, whatever their evils and defects, have whole-hearted and single-minded men as their organizers and leaders; and those leaders have so completely imposed their will on those whom they govern that in effect (in action and in pronouncement) the nations themselves are single-minded—so single-minded that the Religion of the State has driven Christianity into a back-street, if it has not yet made it a back number.

We are therefore confronted in the world today—those of us who are Christians, and those of us who believe in Liberty and Democracy—by opposing systems, of which the one we favour is too often double-minded and half-hearted, while those we feel to be opposed both to Christianity and to Liberty, act single-mindedly and whole-heartedly; and however bad those systems may be, if it comes to a conflict between the whole-hearted and the half-hearted, the whole-hearted are the most likely to win. And the main hope for half-hearted Christianity and Democracy today under the present conflict of interests is the rather craven one that between those three whole-hearted systems there is rivalry—and, in the case of two against one, or one against two, deadly hostility; and if whole-hearted Communism and whole-hearted Fascism and Nazi-ism set to work to cut each other's throats, there is just a chance that the half-hearted, if they can remain out of the conflict and do not give their half-hearts to one side or the other, may yet manage to escape from the general ruin.

We ought not to rely on so shabby a way to salvation for Christianity and for Democracy as that. We ought to do all in our power to get rid at once and for ever of that half-hearted double-mindedness which is so weakening us today, and which is bringing both Christianity and Democracy into disrepute.

This double-mindedness in Religion and Politics begins (as I shall presently show) in the social system under which we live—a people not nearly so much at unity with each other as some of us like to pretend.

But the salient double-mindedness with which we are confronted today is that of our churchmen and politicians in regard to war. War is definitely a product of the system of World Power, of rivalry and conflict of State against State. No one can pretend that war is a product of the teaching of Christ, or that its cause (the rivalry of national interests) receives any countenance from Him. The religion of Christ is essentially a religion universal in character: it abolishes all division of interest—of class, or nation, or race. In the true teaching of Christianity there is none of these; whereas in the World Power system all these divisions and rivalries are a constant, if not an essential, ingredient.

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Yet in spite of that fundamental opposition of the World Power system to Christianity, our churchmen and our politicians are constantly making a double-minded attempt to reconcile them, or if reconcile is the wrong word, to make them run in double harness. As a consequence, our politicians have never made a whole-hearted attempt to present the world with a social system or a diplomacy which is really Christian in character; and our Churchmen, though they know quite well that our social system and our diplomacy are not really Christian, call upon us to uphold and give support to those systems as though they had the full blessing of God, even when their fruits are social inequality, oppression, and war. They do not honestly tell our politicians that our social troubles and the present distress of nations arise definitely from a rejection of, or only a less-than-half-hearted acceptance of the way of Christ. And thus, in giving so much countenance to an un-Christian system, while calling themselves Christians, they become double-minded.

Not long ago, one of our leading politicians declared that everyone regarded war as an abomination. An easy thing to say, but not true. For if our politicians really regarded war as an abomination, would they, for mere economic convenience, license the selling of the means of war to other nations? Would they, if they wished the rising generation to be taught that war is an abomination, use all the efforts they do use to make it attractive to the young mind, in the tattoos and air-displays which they send round the country, inviting the education authorities to allow the children to come (even in schooltime) and have their minds infected with the false glamour of war?

Would our government, if it truly regarded war as an abomination, have encouraged many of our soldiers at the end of the Great War, to enlist themselves in foreign service for a war in which this country had no interest, and a war which was more a war of aggression than of defence—merely as a temporary solution of the unemployment problem? Have we not there a definite proof of the untruth of that ministerial declaration that everyone regards war as an abomination? And is it not a clear case of self-deceiving double-mindedness?

I will ask you to consider into what weakness and moral treachery toward nations whom we have not harmed, this double-mindedness lands us. Because we have not refrained from selling implements of war and destruction to other nations, it has become a regularized trade; and any nation with which we are in friendly relations regards it as part of its general trade agreements to be allowed to purchase from us those means of destruction. As a consequence, when Italy in her war on Abyssinia had broken with the League of Nations, and was even perpetrating acts of war which she had pledged herself never to employ, we still continued to supply her with petrol as a means for the destruction of the people against whom she was carrying on a war of aggression—because to distinguish against her would have been an "unfriendly act," and possibly a breach of trade agreements. Now if we had, as a nation, been single-minded in our detestation of war, we should have had already in existence a law (applying to all nations alike) not only against supplying them with armaments for the destruction of other nations, but also (when at war) with any material, such as petrol, which was being so directly applied, and without which the destruction could not have gone on.

Had we made that our standing rule, applying it internationally, we should not have found ourselves in the embarrassment of distinguishing against one nation and committing a so-called "unfriendly act"; our policy would have been clean, patent, and honest. But because we were double-minded in our attitude toward war, we did this abominable thing, and supplied petrol to Italy to be used for the destruction of Abyssinians. And we had a Prime Minister of this country saying that it would be "humbug" not to supply it, because if we did not do so, others would. Now I venture to say that any man who truly reprobates murder would not put a knife into the murderer's hand to enable him to commit the crime and then excuse himself by saying that if he did not supply the knife some other would. But though we know perfectly well that no decent man would excuse himself on such grounds, we have the spectacle of a great nation, by the mouth of its Prime Minister, excusing itself precisely in those terms, because of its double-mindedness.

(To be continued)

A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

World-Power, Material or Spiritual?

A VERY friendly correspondent takes exception to my statement, in a recent article, that Herr Hitler aims at world-power. If I had read Herr Hitler's speeches, or followed the foreign policy of Germany, I should have found (he says) that Hitler's policy is the "very reverse of this." I am not quite sure what is the very reverse of aiming at world-power; but I should be sorry indeed to have radically misrepresented the world political aims of the chosen leader of the great German nation.

But I do not think that the evidence for those aims is to be sought in Herr Hitler's actual utterances concerning the foreign policy of Germany since he came to power. Those utterances are capable of very diverse interpretation, even if they are taken as completely sincere. Thus "to have offered peace-pacts to France, England, and Czecho-Slovakia," which my correspondent calls in witness of Herr Hitler's pacific intentions, would strike a more pessimistic observer less by its positive proposal than by its negative implication. To him the exclusion of Russia would be more significant than the inclusion of France, England, and Czecho-Slovakia. To less sanguine minds, Herr Hitler's policy here appears as an attempt to break up the virtual alliance of France, Czecho-Slovakia, and Russia. And a still more cynical student of affairs might find cause for wondering whether the author of *Mein Kampf* is to be taken at his word at all.

That book (which has, by the way, been very inadequately translated into English) appears to us as unquestionably the best authority on which to base one's opinion of Herr Hitler's aims. It may be said that other popular leaders have written extravagant books, and yet behaved more soberly altogether, when they incurred the responsibilities of actual power. They have been anxious to draw a veil over their compromising past. But this is very far from being the case with Herr Hitler. *Mein Kampf*, in its original and unexpurgated form is circulated, with all the considerable apparatus of official salesmanship behind it, throughout Germany. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that it is the Bible of the third Reich; and there is certainly no reason to doubt that Herr Rosenberg was declaring the mind of the Nazi Party in power when he said that *Mein Kampf* represents "for all future days the unshakeable basis of National-Socialist feeling and thought."

Herr Hitler's book, as I have said before, is deeply interesting. Unfortunately it is not easily accessible to those who cannot read German, because the various translations have been bowdlerized. But a scrupulously fair summary of its deliverances on the matter of foreign policy is to be had in a pamphlet issued by Friends of Europe (122 St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W.1) under the title "Germany's Foreign Policy as stated in *Mein Kampf*." I refer my readers to that if they wish to check my assertion that Herr Hitler aims at world-power.

In fact, as expounded by himself, Herr Hitler's aims are lucidly simple: first, to unite all the German peoples; then to establish racial purity among them; then to secure for them a

territory in Europe—not in the Cameroons—adequate to their needs. That is the first stage: and it necessarily involves settling accounts with France. "The deadly enemy of the German people now is and remains France." "England does not want Germany to be a world-power, but France does not want Germany to be a power at all." By way of hegemony in Europe, Germany will pass to world-hegemony. A nation racially unified and racially pure, with its ideal set in military conquest—employing the truly humanitarian method of using the utmost brutality to secure a speedy end to the struggle—will achieve world-dominion. "A State which, in an age of racial poisoning, devotes itself to the care of its best racial elements, becomes one day lord of the earth."

This is a simple creed; and it is not new in Germany. Heine gives an extraordinarily comic account of its manifestation in the University of Göttingen more than a century ago. But the creed is not so very different from that held by the majority of Englishmen at the end of the nineteenth century. The German creed is more conscious, more theoretical. Whereas the Englishman simply believed that he was cock of the walk, the German's task is to make himself believe it; or rather the task of the German leader is to make the naturally pacific German believe it.

It is a noteworthy fact that of all European peoples the Germans and Italians are probably, as individuals, the most pacific, the least naturally nationalistic. That is, at least in part, because they submitted longest to the anti-national authority of the Holy Roman Empire. It is only during the last century that Germany and Italy have become conscious of themselves as "nations"; and they are seeking feverishly to make up for their backwardness in the general evolution towards national consciousness. As belated "nations" they suffer from a deep-rooted sense of inferiority: hence their extravagant aggressiveness.

But it would be a serious mistake to delude oneself into believing that their national intentions are pacific. It is surely far better to understand what their aims and ideas really are, and to sympathize with them. Those aims and ideas are not monstrous and inhuman. On the contrary, they are very natural. And it is very doubtful whether very many Englishmen have really grown out of them. The fact is not that nationalism is wicked, but that it is now incompatible with the continuity of European civilization. It is not that Germany and Italy only have to grow out of their nationalism—still less that they have to grow out of it in our way (if we have grown out of it at all); but that all the great nations have to grow out of nationalism. In regard to the humility necessary to salvation, spiritual and material, there is nothing to choose between the nations today.

That, it seems to me, is our true hope of Peace. For the recognition of a real super-national authority demands the same sacrifice, the same inward revolution from us all. And it may even be that German nationalism, which consciously fights Christianity, is nearer to regeneration than our own which finds in Christianity its ally.

Recent Publications

The War As The Fighting Men Saw It



VAIN GLORY, A MISCELLANY OF THE GREAT WAR, 1914-18.
Compiled and edited by Guy Chapman. Cassell, 8s. 6d.

Reviewed by Brig. Gen. F. P. Crozier.

THIS is by far the best collection of War stories and records yet compiled, and its author, who himself served in the front line, is to be congratulated upon his work.

Never before has there been such universal agreement among critics of all kinds in regard to the general merit of the book, which is one which should be read by every pacifist, and more particularly by those who are inclined to turn up their noses at the work of the men who served in the front line who, after all, saved this country from degradation.

The curious thing about the advance which in time meditation brings in its wake is that many of the things about which men scoffed and doubted, and which were written years ago in regard to war, are now accepted without question.

INGRATITUDE

One of the most striking examples of gross ingratitude shown to the fighting man, by a civilian, is the extract from *The Times*, in regard to the utterances of Lord Devonport ("the Patriotic Grocer," he being Chairman of Kearley and Tonge, Ltd.) who "has not the slightest hesitation in saying that no family should receive more than they were receiving before the War"—despite the fact that, by the time this statement was made, the cost of living had gone up to such an amazing extent that the wives and children of the fighting men who were at the front line were in dire straits.

It is this kind of loose phraseology about war which should be condemned by every right-minded pacifist, because how can men go to war and retain the standards of peace?

As the introduction to this book says, "It is not an anthology of literature, but an attempt to display the War of 1914-18, through the eyes of those who took an active part in it."

CHRISTIANITY & WAR

16 page Booklet **FREE**

AND POST FREE

C. HICKS

102 Cotswold Gardens, London, E.6

The most hopeful sign of the times is displayed in the criticisms of this book, which have a direct bearing upon pacifism. For instance, Major-General Temperley, the Military Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, admits, in his own words,

"the glamour of war has departed, and we can see more clearly its hideousness and brutality. . . The gallant endeavour . . . will haunt its readers for many a day, and will make them resolve that it (war) must never be repeated."

Upon the top of which, says the Rt. Hon. A. J. Lyons, Prime Minister of Australia, "In my opinion it represents one of the most graphic pictures ever painted of the Great War . . .

BOYCOTTED

DESPITE a boycott virtually amounting to an attempt at censorship, the second issue of *Fact* (the sixpenny monthly) which contained "I Joined the Army," sold 9,000 copies, although the publishers had anticipated a sale of but two or three thousand of the early issues.

"**I Joined the Army,**" by Private "XYZ," was an unvarnished account of life in the Royal Tank Corps, and became the subject of Press attacks.

Fact is published on the fifteenth of each month from 19 Garrick Street, London, W.C.2.

No person, after reading this book, could fail to do everything in his power to further the cause of world peace."

Mighty words, from mighty men. Words, in view of the race in armaments (being acquiesced in by the Rt. Hon. A. J. Lyons and approved by Major-General Temperley) which make nonsense of the whole thing, unless constructive pacifism of the Sheppard-Lansbury type is practised by all and sundry of the world, in order that its destruction may be prevented.

PEACEMAKING IN PALESTINE

The experience of members of the Peace Army in Palestine is described in a document just published by Mrs. Pollard, 63 Meadway, London, N.W.11, who recently contributed a series of articles to *PEACE NEWS* under the title "Peacemaking in Palestine."

Air Raid "Precautions"
Unconsciously Exposed

IF AIR WAR COMES. Dr. L. Haden Guest. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1s.

GOVERNMENT handbooks are known to be written with a definite bias and can to that extent be discounted. Here we have what purports to be the opinion of a specially informed and qualified citizen advising his fellow citizens as to their civil activities in case of war.

This book is well and simply written and will, if it is not carefully examined and criticized, undoubtedly lead many into accepting, far more readily than they otherwise would, the subsequent orders of the Government.

On closer examination, however, the book appears to contain nearly all the false assumptions and inconsistencies of the Government's own policy. It contains in itself its own refutation.

MILITARY AIMS EXPOSED

It is written throughout from the standpoint of one who cannot see that there could be any objection either to the Government's war policies or to the action it recommends to civilians. It contains, indeed, a complete admission of the real military aims of air-raid precautions. Thus, after a lurid description of possible air raids, Dr. Guest writes:

Air war will be the war of heroic defence and terrible reprisals. It will be swift and fierce beyond comparison with anything known up to the present time. In that warfare the nation will be victorious which is best organized in advance to bear the terrible effects of an air attack and yet maintain order and moral discipline in its life.

And because the civilian population will be attacked by an air enemy, then defeat or victory for the nation will depend on the endurance and discipline of the civilian.

On the technical side Dr. Guest equally ignores the criticisms which have been made of the actual precautions recommended. He does, however, by implication admit a number of these criticisms.

Further, the whole pretence that a gas-proof room is gas-tight is implicitly abandoned by admitting that the length of time people can stay in such a room depends on the area and not on its volume, in other words, that air is expected to come in all the time to keep the people inside alive.

With regard to gases and gas masks, Dr. Guest is equally reassuring. He states that the British mask is practically perfect.

He claims that it is proof against arsenical smokes, whereas it is certain that the civilian type mask allows some smoke to pass, and that the protection it offers is far less than that considered necessary by the French Government. Further, he pooh-poohs the whole question of protection for the rest of the body.

This attitude contrasts strangely with the elaborate description of decontaminating stations which imply that many casualties from this source are expected.

FACTS IGNORED

He goes particularly out of his way to point out the harmlessness of Lew-

isite in a statement which slurs over the fact that Lewisite has been used with deadly and indescribably horrible effect by the Italians in Abyssinia, and that Lewisite, while it is destroyed by water, renders the water that touches it almost as poisonous as the original gas and simply spreads the contamination.

More serious are the attempts to lull apprehension by an entirely unjustified optimism as to the character of modern air warfare. In the Government schemes no protection whatever is advanced against high explosives. The excuse is that high explosives will not be used on civilians except when near military objectives or essential services.

Now two incontrovertible facts dispose of these assumptions: one is that at least half the civilian population live so close to such objectives that bombs aimed at them with the average error of bombing under war conditions are bound to hit civilians, and, secondly, as the Spanish War has shown, that air forces deliberately bomb civilian centres to break the morale of the population.

Dr. Guest does, however, seem to admit the weakness of his case by arguing that though anyone may be bombed, everyone cannot be. That is, we must trust to luck and hope the other fellow gets it.

The Government plainly expects people to wait to be destroyed piecemeal while maintaining themselves cheerfully in their gas-proof rooms. Everything is based on the assumption of a quick war of reprisals, whereas events in Spain have shown us that it is only too likely that a war, if we allow it to occur, will be bitter and long drawn out.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

The measures suggested in the chapter on the protection of the home could only be carried out by a wealthy family living in a large house in its own grounds. Dr. Guest does give one thought, however, to the owner of a semi-detached house:—

If your house is one of a row of detached or semi-detached residences, choose as far as possible a room facing your neighbour. His house will do something to protect you against explosions.

The unconscious motive of all this is transparent. If the middle and upper classes of the country can be made to feel that they are safe, then the war can be carried on. Working-class protection is only necessary for factories.

Production, and particularly war production, must be maintained and the protective measures for factories are accordingly on a far more effective scale than those for domestic use.

From a careful reading of this book we can gather fairly clearly what the Government intends to do and what it intends we should do in times of war. The language is reassuring but the facts are grim enough. The question is, are we going to accept this, and if not, what are we going to do about it?

Hedley Smart

takes you round

THE PARIS EXHIBITION

I HAVE just returned from France. London, after the blue skies of the South and the gaieties of Paris, seems duller than a royal garden party.

Well, I am back on Mars.

I had intended to tell you all about the Peace Pavilion, but a month ago there was no Peace Pavilion, only a green tower that wasn't finished and a heap of debris. When I appeared twenty Paris workmen looked down at me with an air of mild surprise, so I took a train for Marseilles and never saw it again.

But I did look at the Russian Pavilion. It dominates the whole show. It is surmounted by two huge figures of Industry and Agriculture and is a fine piece of architecture, meant to convince you that revolutions are worth while and that Lenin was a civilized man.

Its main object, inside and out, is to convert you to the idea that a Russian peasant, who works from sun-up to sundown, is a better man than a Paris stockbroker who works from nine to five and makes money.

All it did was to convince me that anyone who thinks hard work is a pleasure must be crazy. Toil is a necessity, not a virtue in itself. I want peace, not a sword—not a ploughshare, not a sickle. Who wants to reap a field before breakfast? Are stockbrokers always villains?

★

THE German Pavilion faces that of Russia. It is more notable inside than out, for the exhibits are first-class and there is not a single picture of the Führer to be seen anywhere. The German genius for organization is everywhere apparent. The layout is simple and dignified—and more than all the ballyhoo of official spokesmen the place convinces you that here is a great nation well qualified to lead the civilized world.

But the thing only becomes a certainty when you mount to the roof garden for lunch and suffer yourself to be outrageously fleeced. A light meal cost me nearly a pound, and my only consolation was the waiter, who spoke six languages and looked like Maurice Chevalier and softened the blow with a smile.

To sum up, the Exhibition is worth seeing if you're in Paris and have a day to spare, but don't make a special journey to see it.

★

I AM given to understand that the most notable exhibits in the British Pavilion are the pictures of nonentities riding hunters and looking like advertisements for bath salts, and Mr. Chamberlain in fishing garb. The last merely proves what a good cartoonist Low is, but the former that the educated English are still Philistines, who grow on horses and prefer straight seats to straight thinking.

Anyway, the pavilion is a national concern and is supposed to show English national life, so we must forgive the French labourer if he feels annoyed to discover that

The Organizing Secretary of the National Pacifist Convention to be held by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group in London next month writes on

PACIFIST POLITICS

THE members of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group are of necessity, from the exigencies of our political system, already members of one of the existing political parties. They have made it clear that in sponsoring the series of conventions culminating in the National Convention to be held in London on September 18 they have never had in view the formation of a new party.

Those pacifists who desire to see a separate pacifist party have every right to put up candidates and attempt to win elections, and if they can, to try and win over members of the established parties. It should be made plain, however, that they will be obstructing and not helping the difficult task of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group by forcing this question at conventions called for an entirely different purpose.

Apart altogether from this question

of a pacifist political party many peace workers are asking what continuation programme the Parliamentary Pacifist Group has in view arising out of the success of its series of conventions in Manchester, Birmingham, London (September 18), and Bristol (January 8), and in view of the strong demand for further conventions in South Wales, Yorkshire, Newcastle, and in Scotland.

It has been emphasized from the beginning that the special value of these conventions is their representative character. At Manchester and Birmingham 540 organizations appointed delegates after discussion of the resolutions in branch meetings; most of these would again consider the subject on the report of their delegates returning from the conventions. This is intensive educational work of the highest value.

The natural next step is for as many as possible of these organizations to pass resolutions endorsing the programme outlined in the Parliamentary Group's resolutions and forward them to the proper authorities. Where pacifists are already members of political parties, trade or professional

associations, &c., they should try to get the resolutions of the Parliamentary Group passed by their organization and sent forward to their respective national conferences. The secretaries of the Group, Mr. C. H. Wilson, M.P., and Dr. A. Salter, M.P., should be notified of any such action.

If it be asked what further can be done, politically minded pacifists could consider what would seem to the present writer the next obvious step; although it should be added the Parliamentary Group has not considered this step. **This is the organization in each division of a pacifist representation committee to give support to candidates belonging to existing parties who are pledged to the Group's policy; and further by creating a representation fund to assist financially any out and out pacifist candidature, and if and when possible to nominate candidates on the pacifist ticket in specially favourable constituencies.**

All this could be done without of necessity causing anyone to break away from established allegiances. It entails hard work and efficient organization. Can pacifists organize politically in such strength as to compel the older party leaders to take serious account of them? That is the pacifists' political problem.

Such committees as the above arising spontaneously in any constituencies would pioneer a method which might ultimately become that of a national movement centred in London. To be successful the committees must arise naturally out of the situation as it develops; they cannot be manufactured in some central political factory or forced in some pacifist hot-house.

Douglas J. J. Owen.

The "INTERNATIONAL STATE"

by

Henry Dolman

The writer of this article amplifies his suggestion for amalgamating all the true peace movements of the world and calling the result the "International State," originally put forward in a letter published in PEACE NEWS on June 5.

SINCE PEACE NEWS published my letter on this subject I have heard of a much larger number of peace organizations than I ever thought existed. All have one thing in common, namely a desire to prevent strife, but each has its own way of obtaining this ideal.

Some only just touch on the subject, leaving it too incomplete to draw the really practical man. Others have gone so far as to map out the final result and have incorporated some points that are debatable and frighten people away. All rely on influencing whole governments in order to be successful.

Apart from this being such a difficult job as to make it seem hopeless for a very long time to come the whole political machine is always liable to be reversed by the first really fluent speaker who may have personal or purely national motives.

the English labourer spends half his time shooting grouse in Scotland.

The only thing I regret is that I couldn't get back in time to see the Lord Mayor drive through Paris to open it. He did so, I am told, complete with umpteen nags, a rickety coach, knee breeches, and powdered wigs, to make a fool of the English Constitution and provide enough jokes for a new magazine.

I heard about it. Alas, I shall hear about it for years to come . . .

We must look for some way of working independent of any government, relying on the proved desirability of each reform to make it effective. Is this possible? If so how is it to be done?

First we must recognize that no individual is so infallible as to be able to frame the perfect set of laws for such a complicated undertaking, and even a large group formed of any one nation would be unable to foresee the full effect that a rule may have on a nation whose conditions vary greatly from its own. Therefore it is necessary to have truly international opinions on all international matters.

UNITY OF PEACE-WORKERS

We must, therefore, form a union of all peoples throughout the world who are interested in peace.

This could best be done by uniting all the existing peace societies under one central body but without in any way destroying the identity of any of these movements. Any group would then forward to the secretary of the central body any proposal for laws or rules (whichever word may be thought best) for universal guidance and these would then be voted on by the entire membership before being accepted.

I suggest that quite a host of really binding important international links can be formed in this way especially if the vote necessary for acceptance were fixed very high (say ninety per cent of votes registered) for any act so endorsed would have the force of desirability.

Naturally each group, when offering suggestions, would bear in mind the special aims that caused it to

spring into being and in this way the good of each would gradually become the binding force of all.

As a first step, and as a means of recognition and propaganda, I would propose that a badge completely devoid of any sign of national bias should be devised and used by all members. Also a flag which could be used at public rejoicings should be agreed upon.

In this connexion I have received a suggestion from a Brighton sympathizer, Miss Margaret Macnamara.

The design she puts forward is simple, symbolical (five rose petals symbolize the five continents united), carries no national bias, can be used in any colours without destroying the design, is not copyright and can thus be used free.

I do not pretend to have put forward the finished idea but I hope I have said enough to cause others to follow up the possibility of a world State by degrees.

The purely national State has certainly proved its inability to lead the world in a manner beneficial even to a majority of people and at the same time the politicians are unwilling to try any other forms of government. It is therefore our duty to mankind to bring about any improvement we can without relying on our present rulers.



Pacifists and their Politics

THE remarks of friend Sorensen ("Under Big Ben") in your issue of July 31, need serious consideration by all pacifists as to whether or not working with the Labour Party is not a drag on our pacifist energies.

Is it not rather tragic that only six (apart from the I.L.P. members) could be mustered to vote against the Defence Estimates? I think the Labour Party is, and has been for some time, in a "paradoxical whirlpool," and friend Sorensen's summing up of the circumstances, should be very seriously considered by all pacifists. His significant paragraph could be well applied to the Conservative or Liberal Parties.

The P.P.U. and all pacifists should have a policy which in principle is unchangeable in any circumstances. Moreover, it is a principle of belief which should be jealously guarded.

Experience seems to teach us that there is greater work for our energies outside political bodies. Frankly, is it consistent for a pacifist to be inside the Labour Party?

E. H. CLOGG.
243 Holdenhurst Road,
Bournemouth.
(See article on previous page.—Ed.)

JUNIOR PACIFISTS

I would like to attempt to clear up some confusion that seems to exist with regard to the aim and function of that movement previously referred to as the Junior Branch of the P.P.U.

In the first place, it was considered that a movement more definite in pacifist policy was required for young people. It was felt that although a completely free youth movement would provide excellent opportunity for discussion, a movement with a more definite aim in view was needed.

After all, if peace is the desire of a certain body, and half its members desire to attain it by war, and the rest desire to throw away armaments—the body is necessarily restricted in the amount of practical work it can do.

To say that the formation of a youth pacifist body would tend to make its members narrow-minded, is to say that pacifism is a narrow-minded policy.

Several reservations have had to be made since the formation of the movement. It was found that the name, "Junior Branch of the P.P.U.," was undesirable, in that it fostered in people's minds the idea that the P.P.U. was attempting to get boys and girls of immature years to sign the pledge. An alternative name has not yet been settled on.

Incidentally, the movement is by no means restricted to schools alone. One of its main aims at present is to try to get a comprehensive programme for all the youth peace movements, and thus to obtain a more unified stimulus for youth toward peace.

O. J. COX.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

BLOOD SPORTS FOR MEN AND BOYS

WHEN I was ten my thirteen-year-old brother had an air gun. After some weeks of potting at neighbours' cats (not at birds: he was keen on birds), he intentionally potted me in the leg from the bottom of a short flight of steps, and I was far more pained than surprised.

Didn't something like that ever happen to the author of "Ensuing It"? What a pity it seems.

But really it is all very difficult, for while there are people thinking as he does, I suppose we should continue to give one child in each family an air gun and a good supply of neighbours' cats or their equivalent, and a good supply of small brothers and sisters or their equivalent. So that at least we may ensure the majority growing up with some sense both of logical sequence and of values.

In my case I never did see why the cats should come into the game, so the experience at the time seemed unnecessary. But now I see the point. As for catapults, I remember far more vaguely (naturally) that proverbially irate neighbours were the apex of achievement, proceeding upwards again from cats.

FRANCES BELLERBY.
Eastbury,
Newbury,
Berkshire.

'UNDECLARED PACIFISTS'

Like Mr. Fudge (letters, July 24) I support the aims of the P.P.U. but cannot sign the declaration because, being in an electrical engineering firm, I know that part of my income comes from armament work. I have several friends similarly placed and am sure we represent a large body of "undeclared" pacifists.

Again, I pay my Income Tax knowing that refusal to do so would not help the pacifist cause and would only entail suffering and hardship for myself and family. The heroic action of individuals who have refused to pay seems to me a wasted sacrifice.

On the other hand, if a joint protest could go forward from a few thousands of pacifist tax payers, something might be done, even if it were only to obtain wider publicity for the ideal. The protest should not in the first instance take the form of a direct refusal to pay tax. The line of development would have to be decided by the number of signatories and the reception accorded by the Government to the initial protest.

In any case we ought now to ascertain how many tax payers would support such a protest, members of the P.P.U. and non-members like myself canvassing among friends for support.

J. DUNFORD SMITH.
45 Warnham Court Road,
Carshalton Beeches,
Surrey.

CONTRAST

I was recently in a car driving along the Brighton-Eastbourne road. Suddenly I saw on one side of the road a row of guns, tents, and army lorries—an army camp. Behind it was a large public school where youth is today being taught the dangerous creeds of extreme nationalism and that "superior" upper class feeling.

This sight made me very depressed, but I did not remain so for long. Suddenly I saw on the horizon a row of tents. A huge red and white banner proclaimed "Peace and Solidarity." A notice said "International Children's Camp, 1937."

I realized that there is still hope.
ROBERT C. GREENBERG.
Hotel Curzon,
Brighton, Sussex.

THAT the practice of indiscriminate killing of animals in youth is likely to lead to a distaste for the professional killing of men in war, I utterly deny.

The blood-sports mind is essentially the militaristic mind, a conscious or unconscious training for that "hardhood" and excitement to kill, without which war cannot be carried on.

The rabbit is absolutely defenceless so it has always been "fair game" for the bully in man, and the bird's natural defence in his wings of flight must be overcome by low cunning and violence, which are of the essence of war.

Until we have purged our minds to the very idea that "Might is Right" and "the Devil take the hindmost" and applied this liberating thought to all those other denizens of the earth (whose heritage it is, equally with man) we shall never be free from the depredations of our fellow-men, either through war or any other form of exploitation.

ELEANOR WATSON.
115 Beverly Road,
Hull.

BASIS FOR PACIFISM

Canon Stuart Morris has stated that men who had joined the Peace Pledge Union without any definite convictions were finding that a Christian basis for their pacifism was necessary, and were thus being led to Christianity.

I suggest that it would be helpful to these people if they began in a quiet and peaceful moment to tabulate their dynamics for peace. As I have found this to be helpful I venture to challenge your readers with the following beliefs:

1. The universal fatherhood of God.
2. The universal brotherhood of Man.
3. The call of man to be a co-worker with God.
4. The revelation of God's love to mankind in the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of his son, Jesus Christ, who said "I am the way, the truth, and the life."
5. The need of a vision such as Isaiah had when he said "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."
6. The need for imagination (the Holy Spirit can help toward the developing of that—He is given to them that ask for Him—"Ask and ye shall have") to enable us to practice the Golden Rule.

ANNIE E. EVANS.
1 Park Gate Avenue,
Withington, Manchester.

TO THE GLORY OF GOD

On a recent ramble we found in a little church three memorial tablets in line. Two were inscribed: "To the Glory of God" and in eulogy of the sacrifice by two who had died in action in the Great War. The third tablet read, by way of epitaph: "He was much loved, courteous, and benevolent. . . ." There flashed into my mind the injunction: "Covet earnestly the best gifts."

Were I aspiring to an epitaph I should desire to be worthy of that accorded to the one who had "chosen the better part."

G. C. PALMER.
50 Epping Way,
Chingford, E.4.

Two Sides of the League

AS a P.P.U. member I must express a disappointment at the publication in PEACE NEWS of Dr. A. P. Laurie's article entitled "The Punishment of a Nation by the League."

Our position demands that we repudiate fully the use of war methods, but that is no reason why we should liken collective military action by the League to "indiscriminate slaughter," portraying the League merely as a body using reprisals to enforce its decisions.

It is deplorable that the League of Nations Union has alienated so many of its pacifist members by over-emphasis on collective action as a part of its policy, but I hope the P.P.U. will not make a similar mistake and offend those of its members who are also keen League supporters by exaggeration of this kind.

Is it not time we ceased attacking the one League facet which is opposed to our views, and showed our willingness to cooperate in the League's constructive work?

DAVID C. LARWOOD.
141 Coalway Road,
Wolverhampton.

NOW OR NEVER

Mr. George Lansbury's visit to Rome lays greater emphasis to the need for international cooperation in overcoming present day problems.

Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini have asked for a world conference to be held, to discuss monetary and economic difficulties, but, owing to the attitude of the National Government, such a conference does not seem likely to take place.

Careful preparation is needed of course, but this meeting is the only alternative to war, and I think that the Peace Pledge Union should organize a petition to be sent to the House of Commons, urging the Government to wake up.

If Britain sets the lead, a great step forward will have been taken. We must take that lead; now or never is the time.

JACK HARTLEY.
89 Aylsham Road,
Norwich.

N.-W. FRONTIER POLICY

Not so many years ago, an unarmed medical missionary with that faith, courage and generosity of heart which characterizes "Public Pacifist No 1," went among the peoples of this region with extraordinary success. So amazing was his success in quelling the fears and subduing the hatreds of the inhabitants that Lord Roberts (not a pacifist by any means!) asserted that, from the point of view of good government (i.e. law and order) Dr. Pennell was worth more than two regiments of soldiers.

Let this policy of love be adopted officially, and the increasingly difficult problem of the North-West Frontier will be given a permanent solution. Further, it will stand forth as the twentieth century's counterpart of Penn's "Holy Experiment," a shining and a concrete example to be followed.

WILL HAYDEN.
63 Calabria Road,
London, N.5.

WAR MEDALS

The amount of money that could be got, after paying the cost of melting down might not pay the cost of collection. What would happen to the scrap?—we all know the present-day purpose.

I think a more effective scheme, which would help toward peace and be a good item of propaganda for the P.P.U., would be for ex-Service members to hold a parade, wearing their medals, so as to show the public where most of the ex-Service men stand.

"ONE WHO FOUGHT IN THE WAR TO END WAR."

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Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

AWAY FROM BIG BEN



HIGH on the Downs at Ovingdean, near Brighton, is the International Young People's Camp.

Well over two thousand British, French, Czechs, Swiss, Belgians, Dutch, Scandinavians, and others are there with their many scores of tents of all sizes, their banners waving exultantly and the sea spreading generously a short distance away.

The sunshine is perfect and already, within four days, youthful bodies are richly tanned. The British Woodcraft Folk in their green jerkins (when they are worn!) mix freely with the Red Falcons in their blue shirts and blouses (again, when anything beyond shorts or bathing costume is worn) and the camp is alive with zest and vitality.

It is a great task to organize and maintain this great fraternity, but it is accomplished in peace and fellowship, and when at last the banners are struck for the last time an imperishable memory and an enduring inspiration will remain with all those who spent even a few days in this vibrating republic.

Ere I left to speak in Brighton one evening I spent some time enjoying a Festival in a natural dell on the hill top. Eight hundred Woodcrafters lustily sang their songs, the Czech brass band rendered a dozen items, Swiss gymnasts, French folk-dancers, and many others filled a joyous evening. At 9.30 came bed, and at ten, lights out.

How lovely were those lithe young bodies and how precious those human spirits in that settlement of faith and hope. Here indeed was "very Heaven," more entrancing to modern minds than golden gates and pearly streets.

AN earnest young French Jew sought me out to gain information concerning the working of our Parliamentary system.

Intermittently my mind was distracted from the Festival as I replied to his queries and before he had finished we were involved in a brief exchange of ideas concerning revolutions. He was a Trotskyist and accordingly dismissed with scorn the Labour Party, the communists and the social democrats.

Fiercely he urged the need of violence and apparently in vain was my argument that his all too simple division of mankind into "workers" and "fascists," together with his ready hostility toward all who deviated from Trotskyism, meant inevitably a vortex of destruction and hate.

He was far from typical of those at the camp, for at least some of the Woodcrafters are pacifists, but thereafter I heard subtle, tragic undertones to the songs of comradeship. Passionate sincerity without centripetal sensitiveness ends in disruption and chaos.

To put it less ponderously this

VICEROY MEETS MR. GANDHI

LORD LINLITHGOW, Viceroy of India, met Mr. Gandhi for the first time at Delhi last week.

According to an official communiqué the Viceroy "listened with interest" to Mr. Gandhi's views concerning the ban on the entry of Abdul Ghaffar Khan into the North-West Frontier Province and Mr. Gandhi's own entry into that province (on which there is no ban).

"The interview otherwise was entirely general and personal in character," added the statement,

"the principal subject of discussion being rural uplift and the improvement of the condition of the peasantry."

News of the interview (which was unexpected) was received with satisfaction as an attempt to break down the "barriers of distrust."

The suggestion is now being made that the Viceroy should also meet Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Congress Party.

("Indian Constitution will need reform"—see page three.)

PALESTINE

Reactions to Partition

Among the latest features of the Palestine inquiry of the Permanent Mandates Commission was the cross-examination last week of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Colonial Secretary, and Mr. J. H. Hall, former Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government, with regard to the disturbances.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore left Geneva on Thursday of last week and is expected to return later when the question of partition is opened.

IRAQI PROTEST

A protest against the proposed policy of partition has been sent to the Secretary-General of the League, for communication to the Council, by the Government of Iraq.

The scheme of partition outlined in the Royal Commission's report was pronounced to be unacceptable by Dr. Weizmann, president of the Organization at the Zionist Congress which opened in Zurich last week. Nevertheless he was prepared to accept the principle of a Jewish State in part of the mandated area.

This view secured the support of the congress, which later approved negotiations with Britain.

"P.R." in a Film

A film showing what Proportional Representation is and how it works has just been completed by Sir Clive Morrison-Bell, who was for many years M.P. for Honiton.

An opportunity to see the film is expected to be offered to M.P.s when the House of Commons reassembles.

earnest ardour issues far too frequently in "Comrades and friends—curse you!"

YET it was wholesome and exhilarating to spend a few hours in that atmosphere of creative affirmation and thus to find nourishment for one's faith. Westminster, only a few days away, formed a murky, incongruous contrast. Here was space, liberty and verdant hope instead of the dusty mist breathed by spiritually malnourished prisoners of Parliament. Here was fellowship laughing at traditional barriers and making from the substance of fresh, living souls the supreme artistry of Community. There, where Gladstone and Disraeli seem for ever to wind their ponderous or cynical shades around aspiring statesmen, the residue of convention, fear, caution and self-importance well-nigh fossilizes the human soul.

O Parliament! O Pioneers!!

Spain Control Scheme Deadlock

BEHIND ANGLO-ITALIAN MOVES?

The Non-Intervention Sub-Committee last week again adjourned until a date not fixed, following the adoption of a British proposal that a report should be prepared on means of "restoring and improving" the observation scheme round Spain.

And again it was apparent that "which comes first—withdrawal of foreign forces, or granting of belligerent rights?" was still the problem to be solved if the British plan to avoid complete breakdown of even limited non-intervention was to succeed.

M. Maisky, the Soviet representative, intimated that his Government was not prepared to consider granting of belligerent rights until "volunteers" had been withdrawn, to which the German, Italian, Portuguese, and British representatives replied that he was discussing a plan of his own and not the British plan.

ANGLO-ITALIAN RELATIONS

It seems likely that the possible breakdown of non-intervention is not unconnected with the recent improvement in Anglo-Italian relations consequent upon the exchange of cordial personal communications between Mr. Chamberlain and Signor Mussolini.

This improvement has now taken concrete form in the acceptance by the British Government of an Italian proposal that outstanding points of difference between the two countries should be discussed, and conversations between the British Ambassador in Rome and the Italian Foreign Minister will commence next month.

Similar conversations between France and Italy have been forecast by the French Press.

Questioned as to the effect of the Anglo-Italian rapprochement upon Italo-German friendship, the Italian Foreign Minister declared that the latter "would in no way be interfered with."

PLAYERS WANTED

The Stepney Group of the Left Book Club Theatre Guild is producing *Knock, Knock, Knock*, in the autumn, and needs at least six more male actors.

W. A. Rathkey and H. Allen Smith would be grateful if any P.P.U. members willing to take part would give their name to Mr. Harry Ross, the producer. The next rehearsal is at 9 p.m. on August 18 at 30 Cannon Street Road, Commercial Road, E.1, where letters can be sent.

Pars for the Platform

China

JAPAN'S policy in China has drawn a rebuke from *The Times* which seems to indicate that although Japan may try to follow other nations in the game of imperialism, she can't play it half so well. Said *The Times* in a leading article last Friday:

Once more Japan's contribution to the stabilization of Eastern Asia, a cause which she vociferously espouses, turns out to be an essay in the art known as "smash and grab."

When the smashing is over and the grabbing has been done, many millions of yen and several thousand soldiers will be required to consolidate and exploit the addition to Japan's territorial responsibilities. But what will be required just as badly, and what is unlikely to be forthcoming, is a satisfactory technique of administration.

As imperialists the Japanese lack two qualities—imagination, and the capacity to make those whom they conquer trust them; this deficiency represents perhaps their greatest difficulty on the Asiatic mainland.

It is possible to pick your enemies, but it is not possible to pick your friends; and Japan seems bent on a course which must do grave damage to her standing in the eyes of other countries.

Meanwhile various Chinese military leaders have been visiting Nanking to confer with the Central Government. Japanese nationals have withdrawn from Hankow and points in the Chinese interior—possibly in preparation for large-scale military operations.

Aerial Warfare

MORE mock war manoeuvres took place on two nights this week when air raids on selected targets in South-East England were carried out. One wonders what results the authorities hope for at such rehearsals.

If the bombers "get through," as many actually did on this occasion, it will only prove that air raid "precautions" would be of little value to the civil population, since the bombers could do considerable damage with high explosive and incendiary bombs. On the other hand, if the bombers do not get through (on account of the "defending" aircraft) then there seems no point in Britain possessing a huge bombing fleet, since any other nation could repulse it with sufficient fighting aircraft.

But perhaps, after all, the idea is merely to get people used to the idea of aerial warfare, and on that score pacifists reject rehearsals and "precautions."

"Defence"

IT is well known that Britain has never fought an aggressive war and that in the process of defending herself on innumerable occasions she built up her Empire. Nevertheless, there are some people who would be genuinely surprised if any other nation attempted to

(Continued on page 12, col. 4)

LATE NEWS

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What is the pacifist attitude to events in Spain to-day?

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Forthcoming Meetings

August

14 (Sat.) 3.30 p.m. 91 Sudbury Avenue, **WEMBLEY**; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard and Nigel Spottiswoode at garden party; P.P.U.

15 (Sun.) 3 p.m. Church Hotel, **EDALE**, Cheshire; ramble, returning for tea 5 p.m., and 6 p.m. Church Hotel, **EDALE**; open-air meeting; Cheshire Monthly Meeting Peace Committee, Society of Friends.

18 (Wed.) 8 p.m. Wild Court, **KINGSWAY**, London, W.C.2; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

World Conference Petition

The Doncaster branch of the League of Nations Union together with the Doncaster Pacifist Fellowship (P.P.U.) recently organized a Peace Stall in the Doncaster Market Place with the object of securing signatures from the town's electors to a petition urging the calling of a world conference. Over 2,400 people have signed the petition, which is being forwarded to the local M.P., the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and Mr. George Lansbury.

People seemed anxious to sign and at times it was difficult to approach the signature table owing to the "congestion of the traffic" in the interests of peace.

On the same day a public meeting was held addressed by the Rev. T. J. Jones (president of Doncaster Pacifist Fellowship), Mr. H. H. Walker (secretary of local L.N.U. branch), Councillor Hannah Clark, Mr. Kenneth Brooks (who has been a Parliamentary candidate for a Sheffield division), and Councillor H. Burton.

Miss Vera Brittain

Miss Vera Brittain—one of the Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union—will leave for America next month on an extended lecture tour and will therefore not be available to speak at any meetings in this country during the autumn and spring.

CHESHIRE RAMBLE

A ramble has been organized for tomorrow (Sunday) from Edale (see above). Ramblers, who are asked to take tea packets, will return to the hotel for tea, after which a meeting will be held outside the hotel (near the railway bridge), or if wet in the garage adjoining.

Platform Pairs

(Concluded from page 11, column 4)

justify its past wars as having been also of a defensive character.

Such an attempt at justification was made in a letter to *The Times* by Freiherr Von Rheinbaben, a former Secretary of State, who, writing from Berlin, explained the German moves in 1914 as follows:

I and many other Germans have, for example, read with astonishment in Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Grey* that there are still English historians of repute who believe that there is foundation for the myth that in 1914 Germany wished to attack other countries and to establish a predominance over Europe.

As a matter of fact, Germany was endeavouring, as a "saturated State," to ensure the continued possession of what was then hers and to develop her world-wide economic resources.

It was only because her ally Austria-Hungary was struck at the root of her existence that Germany finally, under the menace of overwhelming coalitions, felt compelled to draw the sword in a defensive war, in order not to become completely isolated by an over-powering constellation directed against her.

The average Englishman today may have been taught to look upon the Great War in a different light, but it must be remembered that there was just as much difference of opinion at the time of the Boer War (to take but one example) between what England thought she was doing and what others knew she was doing.

Recruiting

It has been maintained in many quarters that widespread unemployment has its bright side for the military authorities, as it means more recruits for the army. This was confirmed by the Military Correspondent of *The Times* last week, when, discussing recent army manoeuvres, he wrote:

I hope this year's experience may lead to a "boom" in recruiting which has not shown the progress marked in general throughout the Territorial Army. One factor has been the increase of employment, and another a wise weeding-out of ineffective numbers.

O.T.C.s.

PACIFISTS often complain of the pressure brought upon scholars at some schools to join O.T.C.s. Correspondents of the *Daily Telegraph*, however, have been complaining that (as one of them put it):

There is at present an atmosphere of pacifism throughout schools, which perhaps deters young men from joining the army. It does more than deter; it constitutes a positive hindrance to candidates for the army, in that so many schools will not countenance an Officers' Training Corps.

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Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11, by "Peace News" Ltd. (registered office, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by Baines & Scarsbrook Ltd. (T.U.), 75 Fairfax Road, London, N.W.6